DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 276 995 CS 209 853

AUTHOR McBride, Genevieve G.
TITLE From the Pedestal to PR: Women Reformers and Public Relations, 1910-1920.
PUB DATE Aug 86
NOTE 44p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (69th, Norman, OK, August 3-6, 1986).
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Historical Materials (060)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Activism; *Females; *Feminism; Fund Raising; Journalism; Legislators; Lobbying; Majority Attitudes; Mass Media; Newspapers; Nonprofit Organizations; Political Issues; Political Power; Press Opinion; Publicity; Public Opinion; *Public Relations; Public Support; Sex Role; Social Attitudes; Social Support Groups; United States History; Voting; *Voting Rights; *Womens Studies
IDENTIFIERS League of Women Voters; Reform Efforts; Wisconsin; *Womens Organizations; *Womens Suffrage

ABSTRACT

Analysis of the Wisconsin woman suffrage campaign of 1910-1920 suggests that public relations belonged not only to political or business practices, but was equally a process by which the masses achieved their own best interests in nineteenth and early twentieth century social reform movements. Woman suffragists were led by women, and the public relations field, by neglecting the contribution of unpaid advocates who worked for what they believed in, denies all practitioners an ethical past. Women reformers learned the methods of public opinion campaigns in earlier reform movements long dominated by men. Historical emphasis on the profession's origin in politics and business also denies a usable past to practitioners in the nonprofit sector still reliant on voluntary support. Suffragists, for example, inherited some of their practices and much of their popular support from the abolition and temperance campaigns. Theodora Winton Youmans, a pioneering woman journalist who wrote for the "Waukesha Freeman" from 1911 to 1920, led the suffrage campaign which in seven years achieved a turnaround in public opinion. As early as 1911 and 1912, under her leadership, Wisconsin Women engaged in activities later recognized as components of modern public relations: opinion research, publicity, lobbying, fund raising, and membership drives. It is important to remember that public relations had its "mothers" as well as its "fathers." Fifty-eight footnotes are appended. (NKA)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

ED276995

FROM THE PEDESTAL TO PR:
WOMEN REFORMERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS, 1910-1920

Genevieve G. McBride
University of Wisconsin-Madison

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Genevieve G. McBride

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

CS209853

FROM THE PEDESTAL TO PR:

WOMEN REFORMERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS, 1910-1920

Historians generally trace the birth of modern public relations practice to politics or business, assuming it was a means of manipulating the masses toward the unethical ends of private interests. One historian recently deplored the demise of "voluntaristic public relations" by the mid-1850s, when "paid advocacy" replaced the "concept that individuals should advocate only what they believe in." Placing public relations solely in political or business practices of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries automatically excludes women. Few were in the professions or the polls. Their work was "not acknowledged--in other words . . . not paid," a woman reformer said in 1869. Women are "left out of history," a woman historian cautions, not by intent but as a result of the "terms of inquiry," of historical definition. The work of women reformers, if unpaid, does meet the definition of public relations as a planned effort to influence public opinion toward social progress.[1]

Analysis of the Wisconsin woman suffrage campaign of 1910 to 1920 suggests that public relations is equally a process by which the masses achieved their own best interests in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century social reform movements. The work of Wisconsin women for their social and political progress also

provides a new perspective on the origins of public relations in the neglected nonprofit sector. It reveals the important role of women in the profession's early years.

Theodora Winton Youmans led the campaign which in seven years achieved a turnaround in public opinion. From the resounding defeat of their woman suffrage referendum in 1912, women made Wisconsin the first state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment. Youmans was president of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association from 1913 to 1920, and a pioneering woman journalist. Her weekly column in the Waukesha Freeman from 1911 to 1920 is a record of suffragists' early public relations effort.[2]

Youmans' career illustrates the transitional stage of public relations from the partisan press to professional autonomy. She followed the traditional path into public relations. Her newspaper experience led first to publicity and press relations work, and then to planning and implementing a public opinion campaign. Youmans differed from later public relations practitioners because she never left newspapering and remained a respected journalist from the 1880s into the 1920s. Before widespread adherence to objectivity in the 1920s, before ethics codes came to her "country press," Youmans was both an outspoken suffragist and assistant editor of the Freeman. From 1911 on, Youmans worked three days a week at the Freeman and two days a week for woman suffrage. She later admitted the latter job took "most of my time."[3]

Youmans typified the movement's "second generation" who belatedly became active in woman suffrage work. Married to the

Freeman editor and publisher, the state Progressive Party's press spokesman, she rose to statewide prominence through presidency of the Wisconsin federation of women's clubs in 1898. Youmans received her first political appointment, to the state semicentennial committee, the same year. In the next decade her Progressive champion, Wisconsin Governor Robert M. LaFollette, made her the first woman on several state boards and committees. Lobbying at the state capitol for a woman suffrage referendum bill proposed in 1911 by legislator D. G. James, Youmans met Ada James, his daughter and president of the Political Equality League. Militant members of the less activist Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association, led by the Reverend Olympia Brown since 1885, founded the PEL in anticipation of the referendum. Upon passage of the bill, the PEL and WWSA cooperated--to an extent--in a campaign to bring full suffrage to a state east of the Mississippi for the first time.[4]

Youmans enlisted in 1911 as PEL press correspondent. "That campaign was as lively as we--some trained, some untrained, in suffrage campaigns--could make it," Youmans later wrote. "In general we followed the suffrage styles of other states and imitated the stunts of those who had passed that way before." PEL campaign manager Crystal Eastman Benedict, salaried by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, had moved to Milwaukee from New York where she gained extensive expertise. NAWSA president Dr. Anna Howard Shaw came to Wisconsin, and experienced organizers offered lessons learned in other states. Catherine Waugh McCulloch of Illinois, whose husband and children combined their northern vacation with her cause, advised the women

to start "suffrage tours" in large cities for maximum coverage from daily papers. Smaller papers should receive releases with photos, which editors preferred to "fine speeches."[5]

In the liveliest campaign "stunts," suffragists motored around Wisconsin and took their message to the streets. Automobiles festooned in bright "suffrage yellow" carried militants in matching tunics from town to town, a technique copied from California, Washington and Illinois campaigns of 1910 and 1911. Mass "street meetings" featured suffragists--"rather shy at first," Youmans wrote--on soapboxes, speaking to passersby who would not "under any circumstances" enter a hall. Aggressive English suffragettes had inaugurated the spontaneous gatherings, introduced to America by Massachusetts women in 1909. Youmans went on tour at a time when there were only a few thousand cars in all of Wisconsin. "The native Badger experienced the destructive shock of seeing a woman stand up in an automobile on a street corner and plead for political freedom," she later wrote.[6]

The campaign capitalized on voters' fascination with all forms of transportation, from four-legged varieties to flying machines. A famous pacing horse, Dan Patch, paraded around the State Fair adorned with a yellow suffrage banner; the horse flaunted the same banner a few weeks later in Ohio, where another suffrage referendum was underway. The PEL and WWSA also covered an estimated seventy-five county fairs in Wisconsin. At Green Bay, Buffalo Bill Cody carried a suffragist banner as he led his Wild West circus into town. On the Wolf River, women cruised fifty miles upstream and stopped at landings to speak. An

"airship" scattered suffrage flyers over the 1912 State Fair, where both the PEL and WWSA had booths. Suffragists seized on another twentieth-century marvel, moving pictures, and showed a two-reel "photo-play" entitled "Votes for Women" in vaudeville theaters. They also sent a traveling stereopticon show on women's working conditions to storefronts around the state.[7]

Colorful "stunts" created only awareness of woman suffragists. Behind their press agentry was a broader campaign with more decorous tactics to enlist understanding, acceptance and support. As early as 1911 and 1912, Wisconsin women employed activities later recognized as components of modern public relations: opinion research, publicity, lobbying, fundraising and membership drives. Youmans' research, for example, demonstrated an intuitive grasp of the "two-step flow" theory. A tenet of public relations from the 1920s to the 1940s, it posits a stratified public with "opinion leaders" persuading followers.[8]

In Youmans' time and town, the well-read, the clubwomen and, of course, the newspaper editor led public opinion. Library statistics, she wrote, showed that woman suffrage was the most popular topic among book borrowers in the state. Youmans' survey of state federations of women's clubs, taken to convince Wisconsin clubwomen to endorse suffrage, yielded seven already taking the bold stand. On the eve of the 1912 referendum, two years before the national federation's endorsement, Youmans singlehandedly brought Wisconsin clubwomen onto the suffrage bandwagon. The clubwomen's endorsement countered antisuffragists who claimed that respectable women didn't want the vote, based on low turnout of

state women granted token suffrage in local school elections.[9]

Youmans surveyed editors in the state with a "post-card questionnaire." She knew many of them from newspaper conventions, where she accompanied her husband and regularly contributed to programs. Journalists sympathetic to woman suffrage ran papers from Bloomer and Brillion to Viola and Wauzeka, she reported, and the Wisconsin State Journal, Milwaukee Leader, Milwaukee Free Press, Racine Times and Chicago's Herald and Tribune had woman suffrage departments. She subjected Milwaukee papers, generally opposed to suffrage, to frequent and sarcastic rebuttals. For example, despite its once-weekly nod to woman suffrage, the Free Press was "an intelligent newspaper with the most astonishing if unintelligible streaks that it is possible to imagine." She admonished the Free Press to read "any suffrage literature except its own effusions."[10]

Youmans did not spare colleagues closer to home. Her husband's brother-in-law, formerly editor and publisher of the Freeman, suggested in one of his articles that suffragists should, if shipwrecked, refuse to abide by the tradition of "women and children first." Youmans wrote scathing replies, in the family paper. Admitting "in general a profound respect" for his "broad knowledge" and "intellectual grasp," and acknowledging her debt for his "kind training," she asserted that "great ability and learning does not prevent his having wrong ideas." In the next sentence, she slyly linked him to "a chimera of unbalanced brains." Youmans later took on the editorial writer of the "esteemed Freeman" for suggesting that women in suffrage states

were laggards rather than leaders in reform.[11]

Youmans conducted her "publicity side of the campaign" with admirable range and regularity. "Every week I sent out a suffrage letter to all the newspapers in the state, six hundred or more in number," she recalled. In 1912, she reported that the PEL press committee also sent releases to Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth papers circulated in Wisconsin. As the election neared, she also mentioned daily releases to the daily press. Youmans efficiently duplicated part of her weekly Freeman column in her "suffrage letter," the PEL's one-page Press Bulletin begun in January, 1912 and continued to the election.[12]

Editors received articles on suffrage positions and progress, profiles of state, national and international suffragists, snappy "fillers" and local angles for longer stories. Youmans tied "women's issues" to timely events in the news. For example, she offered editors a front-row seat at the 1912 state women's clubs convention where she engineered the crucial suffrage endorsement. Youmans targeted Wisconsin readers with endorsements from Catholic cardinals, college presidents, German Turners and other "distinguished advocates" of suffrage who were the equivalent of latter-day "celebrity spokespersons."[13]

Lobbying is less visible during the 1911-12 campaign because NAWSA coordinated lobbying at the national level, in disarray at the time. Wisconsin suffragists also let up on lobbying of state legislators once they passed the referendum bill. The women continued cultivation of congressmen. In her column, Youmans endorsed those favorable to the cause, especially

her Progressive mentor, LaFollette, now in the Senate. His wife Belle also became an active suffragist in 1911. She offered her expertise on ward and-precinct level organization, and a list of the senator's supporters for a last-minute direct-mail effort.[14]

Suffragists held ceaseless fundraising drives throughout the campaign. The WWSA spent only $3600 in the 1911-12 campaign, but PEL expenditures were $900 to $1000 a month even though its county associations paid for local promotions. The PEL's Crystal Eastman Benedict identified potential donors, made personal calls in Wisconsin and out of state, used pledge cards and was meticulous in follow-up correspondence. She brought in over $13,000. The Wisconsin attorney general ruled that suffrage organizations came under the corrupt practices law, limiting each group's expenditures to $10,000. Benedict funneled excess funds to a Men's League for Woman Suffrage, recruiting her brother, author Max Eastman, from New York to be its "founder."[15]

More than half of the funds came from Wisconsin--one wealthy woman contributed over $2000--but other states sent sizeable sums. New York supporters sent $2700 after one Benedict tour, Chicago suffragists sent $500, and NAWSA donated $200 a month which it increased near the end of the campaign. Women raised the rest from coins collected by streetcorner speakers and from ticket sales to suffrage events. A "society" theater party in Milwaukee raised $175 but scheduled speakers sometimes barely broke even. Suffragists also sold washing machines for $3.50 "to make money without begging for it," Youmans wrote.[16]

Membership drives are more difficult to measure because the

women, and their opponents, calculated suffrage support by more than dues-paying recruits. The WWSA came into the 1911-12 campaign with many, if inactive, county branches. Only seventy regular members received its monthly Wisconsin Citizen, used for maintaining internal communication and morale as well as external promotion. The PEL founded associations in more than half of Wisconsin's counties in its first year, and by the end of the campaign tallied fifty-eight to the WWSA's sixty-one. NAWSA's Maud Wood Park established new College Equal Suffrage League chapters after a tour of thirteen campuses in fourteen days.[17]

In the brief 1911-12 campaign, petitions were more important than membership drives in committing nonmembers to the cause, convincing "opinion leaders" and creating news coverage. Youmans regularly invited readers to sign petitions at the Freeman office. She reported in July, 1912 that Wisconsin Congressman Victor L. Berger, whose wife Meta was in the PEL, presented petitions to the House from 116,582 residents who favored a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage.[18]

Those signatures, unfortunately, accounted for almost all the Wisconsinites who supported full woman suffrage. In weeks before the election, suffragists mailed or distributed an estimated 125,000 pieces of promotional literature and intensified advertising with placement in twenty-four papers. The Wisconsin State Journal in Madison and the Milwaukee Leader turned over entire issues to advocacy of suffrage. Women poll-watchers worked around the state on election day, November 5. Their referendum lost, 227,024 votes to 135,545.[19]

The referendum failed due to complex social factors and petty political tricks. Late in the campaign, the attorney general ruled that the woman suffrage referendum would be on a separate, pink ballot. The PEL and WWSA tried to turn it to their advantage, but could not. In the suffrage stronghold of Racine, the ballots mysteriously turned out to be not the much-publicized pink, but white. In other areas, officials delivered the separate ballots too late, or too few, or not at all.[20]

More significant reasons for nationwide opposition to woman suffrage, the "immigrant vote" and the "liquor lobby," were especially strong and intertwined in Wisconsin. Suffragists blamed both for referendum losses in two other states east of the Mississippi that fall, Ohio and Michigan; woman suffrage won that year only in Kansas, Arizona and Oregon. Foreign-born or first-generation immigrants, predominantly German, made up almost four-fifths of Wisconsin's population in 1910, Youmans reported. Breweries were major employers, and feared the historical linkage of the woman suffrage and temperance movements. Women targeted the immigrant public with literature in German, Polish and other languages. Youmans' committee translated news releases for the foreign-language papers, and secured endorsements from the Socialist and Scandinavian press and the Polish Kuryer Polski.[21]

Youmans blamed the defeat on the "vehemence" of liquor dealers' well-financed campaign, on the "old-country conservatism" of immigrants, and on the "other conservatism . . . just that common old garden variety of conservatism" which claimed women didn't want the vote. She directed her most sarcastic comments of

the campaign at women in Anti-Suffrage Leagues, questioning the "relentless logic of this remarkable sisterhood" who traveled far and wide to reaffirm that women's place was in the home.[22]

From a public relations perspective, the referendum failed due to lack of coordinated policy and effective implementation, and suffragists knew it. Journalist and author Zona Gale of the WWSA recognized that the competing--at times, feuding--suffrage organizations caused public confusion and internal duplication of effort and expense. The PEL's Ada James attempted a merger of the two groups in 1911, but interest faltered until after the referendum. Reporting to James on the PEL post-referendum board meeting, Youmans agreed that merger was preferable to "two old organizations, tied together not welded, and each presumably struggling for supremacy."[23]

Wisconsin suffragists also knew they had succeeded in creating awareness of their cause, a necessary first step to alter public opinion. The number of votes cast on the suffrage ballot exceeded by more than 100,000 the combined total for all three other constitutional amendments that day, and the tally for the incumbent governor. Writing the day after the election to PEL workers, Youmans underscored the campaign's gains. "We have known all the time deep down in our hearts that this and only this could be the result, this time. We know too, deep down in our hearts, what will be the result next time or the time after that . . . we have done much to hasten the happy day of its coming." Writing for print on election day, before returns were in, Youmans realized that "in other states it has, without exception, I

believe, taken two campaigns to convince the voters of the desirability of woman suffrage. If it should require two campaigns in Wisconsin or three or ten, we are prepared."[24]

Youmans was not, at first, prepared to provide the new leadership which historians agree was another major benefit accruing from the campaign. Ada James knew a change at the top was necessary to unite the PEL and WWSA, and had approached Youmans in September, 1911. She refused office, and was still reluctant to accept the presidency in early 1913 when the groups merged. Youmans' father died weeks after the referendum, she took in her elderly mother, and wrote James that "somehow burdens of all kinds seem to grow heavier and to multiply with each year." Youmans changed her mind days later and presided at the new WWSA's first meeting in January, 1913. Members elected Gale first vice-president and James executive secretary. Olympia Brown was named honorary president, a post Youmans later ruled was for life.[25]

Enthusiasm engendered by the lively 1911-12 campaign was over, and suffragists did not reach a similar peak until 1919 when Wisconsin rushed to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment first. By then, the majority of citizens and legislators supported woman suffrage. In 1913, the WWSA faced a public opinion campaign of uncertain duration. Describing her presidency as "seven years of the struggle," Youmans recalled "some high lights; but mainly it is a sober record of doing the day's work as well as one could, educating and organizing, raising money and expending it, writing and exhorting, and never for one moment failing in faith as to the justice of our cause or its final outcome."[26]

Youmans' professionalism in conducting a public opinion campaign is most evident in the first three years of her presidency, when Wisconsin suffragists were most autonomous. NAWSA foundered "in a deepening crisis arising from the absence of a clear-cut policy," according to one historian, due to its indecisive president and constant turnover on its national board. The WWSA revived from the referendum defeat, and was ready to win the ratification race in 1919 because of Youmans' carefully planned public opinion campaign. She analyzed referendum results county by county, even ward by ward in Waukesha, and concluded that Wisconsin voters were well aware of woman suffrage. From 1913 on, the WWSA downplayed press agentry and publicity to a few parades, county fairs and infrequent street meetings. Youmans emphasized, instead, the less visible activities more likely to win understanding, acceptance and support of woman suffrage. In her words, "The coming campaign in Wisconsin is to be carried on wholly for the purposes of education, so that when another election comes in this state, the voters will be ready for it."[27]

Youmans' long-term plan did not suit suffragists less willing to sacrifice what seemed to be quicker solutions. Ada James and Belle LaFollette immediately pushed for submitting a new referendum to Wisconsin voters. Youmans felt public opinion was still not favorable, and wanted to wait until the WWSA was in a better position to win. She acquiesced when Senator LaFollette took his wife's side. James lobbied the bill through the legislature to the governor, who vetoed the bill. Youmans previously placated him, despite his lack of support for woman

suffrage. Now she attributed his action to personal spite, party politics and "doing the work of the liquor interests."[28] With the legislative digression done, the WWSA turned to Youmans' plan.

Fundraising and membership drives were Youmans' first objectives, with support from NAWSA and other states cut off after the referendum:

> The voters must know more about woman suffrage, its philosophy, its actual results in the states and countries where it prevails. Only by education are measures like this ever carried. A state-wide campaign is planned, to open now and to close only when the women of Wisconsin vote. This campaign which we plan is not be noisy or sensational It is to be quiet and educational. We shall open headquarters in Madison, we shall disseminate literature, we shall send speakers where they can do the most good--we do not propose to talk suffrage exclusively to each other any longer--we shall strive for more and better local organizations. <u>All this takes money</u>. . . . It has been decided that the county organizations shall support the state work.[29]

Counties undertook quotas toward a fundraising goal of $5000 by the WWSA's November, 1913 convention. In Waukesha County, for example, the local president called a "convention" where Youmans displayed her "suffrage maps" of the country, state and county, and "several charts giving pertinent statistics." She detailed expenses "so that every person present might know, when she gave money, just what that money is to be used for," she wrote. Waukesha women raised $175 that day toward their $200 quota, and planned a benefit play at the local college where a young Alfred Lunt thrilled his first audiences. By October, suffragists in sixteen counties pledged $3000.[30]

When their goal was not met, Youmans described her "own little experience in Waukesha" to WWSA members at the convention.

Fundraising, she said, "is not an overwhelmingly difficult thing to do. We had started a number of people in the excellent habit of giving money for the woman suffrage cause." In her first presidential address, Youmans also reported more funds raised through the education committee's booklet, "Social Forces." Among the most popular suffragist literature around the country, sales brought in $50 over cost of the first five thousand copies. A second printing was planned, and Youmans expected more income from ticket sales for a new "suffrage movie" touring the state.[31]

Youmans' optimistic first report to the WWSA did not reflect her frustration with the WWSA's organizational naivete. "The first year of my presidency we had no office and I took care of an extensive correspondence with my own pen," she later wrote. Youmans still chaired the press committee and now wrote letters in the monthly Wisconsin Citizen, continuing some duplication of her Freeman column. She had told the executive board in October that she could not continue as president. The board voted to move the WWSA headquarters from Madison to Waukesha and hire her a stenographer, and authorized long-distance calls. Youmans reconsidered and was reelected without opposition.[32]

Youmans pressed her "general policy of concentration" on the board in following months. When WWSA headquarters were moved in May, 1914, Youmans delegated publicity and took over editorship of the Citizen. The board reluctantly agreed to cut back on the magazine's pages and mailing list and to make it primarily for internal communication rather than external publics. Youmans did not, apparently, threaten resignation again.[33]

Ada James contributed a membership training program in 1914 to build the "more and better local organizations" Youmans sought. "One of the reasons why we do not advance more rapidly toward our goal," Youmans wrote, "is in the fact that we have so few trained workers. It is one thing to believe in woman suffrage. It is quite another thing to be able to do effective work for woman suffrage." James' "suffrage school," a technique inaugurated in New York in 1913, drew supporters to Madison in June. Hundreds heard speakers, including the chief justice of the state supreme court, give day and evening lectures. Sixty-six women enrolled in the weeklong program on suffrage history, women's legal and economic status, organizational tactics and public speaking. Youmans taught a course on "press work for suffrage."[34]

WWSA leaders, most often James and Youmans, also attended training programs at least twice and even five or six times in a year. They applied the experience of other states to the next WWSA convention in December, 1914. It would not be "arranged on the stereotyped plan," Youmans promised. She scheduled sessions on organization, finance, legislation and publicity. "Little effort will be made toward mere entertainment and small thought wasted on cultural lines. The convention will be made as practicable as it can possibly be made, the whole aim being to help members in suffrage work," she wrote.[35]

Youmans' address to that WWSA convention lacked her characteristic optimism, but correctly forecast problems of the coming year. She was unfair to the progress made in 1914. Youmans assessed fundraising and membership, revived from the letdown

after the 1912 referendum loss, as "fairly effective. We still search for a magic which shall make organized groups stay organized, and for a vital spark which shall inspire those who are comfortably certain that [woman suffrage] is coming anyway." The year's accomplishments she tersely listed as the "suffrage school," a Self-Denial Day proposed by a Kenosha member and adopted nationwide, a "letter project" to 13,000 voters for support of the proposed state initiative-and referendum amendment, publication of a pamphlet on Wisconsin legislators' voting records, and a balanced budget of $6,261.[36]

Youmans' pessimism apparently resulted from exposure to NAWSA's internal problems, just days before the WWSA met. She went to her second national convention with misgivings. "Friction" was "perfectly possible," Youmans had predicted, and the gathering would not be "wholly a love-feast." NAWSA members did not resolve the troublesome issues Youmans identified as leadership, strategy and suffragists' stand on the war in Europe. War proved to be not yet the divisive factor it became when American involvement neared. NAWSA members reelected Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, beloved but lacking administrative skill, to the presidency. They unwisely abandoned the federal amendment strategy first mapped by Susan B. Anthony and endorsed state-by-state legislative enactment of suffrage, an approach which allowed Illinois suffragists to bypass a referendum in 1913 and galvanized the movement because it was the first success outside of Western states. Wisconsin's delegation opposed the Illinois strategy, and was vindicated when NAWSA reversed its action the next year.[37]

NAWSA had caused national schism by cutting off its own Congressional Committee in a dispute over lobbying tactics in 1914, and by 1915 the confusion seeped down to the state level. Youmans had joined the Congressional Union early in 1914 because she was impressed by the ability and enthusiasm of its membership. She did worry, Youmans wrote another WWSA officer, whether the group was "wholly wise." When Congressional Union founder Alice Paul came to Wisconsin in the summer of 1914 to enlist WWSA support, Youmans equivocated. WWSA officers Ada James and Zona Gale agreed to establish a state branch of the Congressional Union. By fall, Youmans was "wholly out of sympathy" with Paul, who wanted "absolute control." As NAWSA's differences with Paul became apparent, Gale dropped out of the Congressional Union. James rose in its ranks while retaining her WWSA membership, but went off the executive board.[38]

The Congressional Union eroded WWSA unity and weakened the board, which decided to attempt another state referendum without James' legislative expertise. Jessie Jack Hooper of Oshkosh, another newcomer to suffrage work in the 1911-12 campaign, lobbied all 133 legislators "except two members of the assembly who refused point blank to see her," Youmans wrote. Three different bills died in hearings. Legislators at first "dazed" the women, and then disgusted them with an amendment designed to confuse the electorate by abolishing women's "dower rights," a remnant of common law. Youmans blamed the "liquor lobby" again, and promised an updated publication of legislators' voting records on "various representative measures."[39]

The WWSA did find some compensation from the Congressional Union controversy by copying its better organizational plan. After the aborted referendum attempt, the executive board redirected Hooper to organize calls on congressmen in every district. Of eleven representatives, from Wisconsin, only three--and Senator LaFollette--favored a federal suffrage amendment, again the WWSA's focus without a state referendum. To expedite lobbying, the 1915 WWSA convention approved a regional structure corresponding to congressional districts, each with its own annual conference, chairperson and press officer.[40]

Youmans attempted a public reconciliation of NAWSA and the Congressional Union in 1915, and discovered the discomfort of being on the other side of a news story. At a NAWSA conference in Chicago, she called for a "single line of congressional work" because continued division meant a "serious loss to the suffrage cause." Her open admission of internal dissension caused a commotion reported by the press. Youmans denied "stories printed in the Chicago papers that I was likely to be expelled or that I left the conference in a rage." She blamed the "startling inaccuracy" of reporters on their "picturesque imaginations" and warned, "If anyone in future criticizes the Freeman for mistakes, I shall recommend that they give an interview to the Chicago Examiner or Post and see how it comes out."[41]

Youmans briefly escaped the growing tension between Wisconsin's NAWSA and Congressional Union loyalists in the fall of 1915 by working in the New York campaign headed by Carrie Chapman Catt, who soon rescued the women suffrage movement from schism and

apathy. Youmans handled "press work" in Rochester for six weeks, on a $250 appropriation by WWSA for her expenses, and marched in the pivotal New York City suffrage parade. After the referendum defeat, Catt returned to the presidency of NAWSA, which she had led from 1900 to 1904 before heading the New York State and international suffrage movements. Youmans praised Catt's "intellectual equipment" in 1913, campaigned for her candidacy in 1914, and welcomed her election in December, 1915.[42]

From 1916 to 1920, Catt organized the woman suffrage movement into a public opinion campaign of astonishing dimensions. Her "Winning Plan," a two-pronged effort, resolved suffragists' long-standing internal debate by encompassing both routes to victory in a circular strategy: a state-by-state campaign to accrue sufficient electoral pressure for a federal amendment, returned to the states where suffragists would remain organized for ratification campaigns.[43]

A coordinated national effort at last meant that Youmans was implementing policy, not making it, from 1916 on. Crucial to Catt's plan was commitment from a leadership of which Youmans was the prototype. No longer chosen out of "sentiment or gratitude," according to one historian, they were women of ability, independent means and connections to power. National board members and state presidents, including Youmans, came to a secret meeting in 1916 where Catt secured their pledges of allegiance to her "Winning Plan." The state presidents agreed to provisions "within the framework of larger policy decisions": concentration on the federal amendment and "submission" to national direction to

forestall further "hopeless campaigns." Upon her return from the secret NAWSA session, Youmans told Wisconsin suffragists only that they were "started on the last lap of our painful journey" with "the goal in sight."[44]

Youmans acceded to Catt's plan for the WWSA, but its members were not as willing to take NAWSA's orders. Wisconsin fell in the category of states where further referenda would be futile, so Youmans limited the objective in 1917 to presidential suffrage requiring only legislative enactment. It meant settling for partial enfranchisement in the state toward accruing enough electoral votes nationwide to win a federal amendment. Catt carried her message to a WWSA congressional conference in Milwaukee in March, and the executive board voted in November for the presidential suffrage plan. Over Youmans' opposition, members endorsed another referendum. NAWSA censured Wisconsin suffragists, and Hooper resigned as lobbyist. Her replacement worked with only lackluster support from Youmans and the chagrined membership, and the referendum bill failed.[45]

Before the WWSA could regroup for the next legislative session, Catt altered her plan to accommodate a new crisis in the woman suffrage movement. "The certainty that war, real war, war that is bloody and brutal beyond words, is coming to this country" confronted suffragists, Youmans wrote in May, 1917. They made it a catalyst to victory. Catt's logic was that suffragists could not plead their argument for citizenship without joining their cause to the country's.[46]

NAWSA's calculated patriotism contrasted with the

Congressional Union's neutrality and was especially divisive among Wisconsin suffragists. In 1914, the WWSA convention had heard pacifist women speakers from England and Hungary, and sent a resolution to President Wilson endorsing his peace missions. In 1915, even peace was so potentially divisive that the WWSA convention rejected another resolution. In July, 1916, its executive board unanimously refused an invitation to Milwaukee's "preparedness parade." The woman suffrage movement was attacked by "some Milwaukee papers," Youmans wrote--the Journal won a Pulitzer Prize for its pro-war stance in the center of American Socialism--when the WWSA brought back to Wisconsin the Socialist writer Max Eastman for a speech. Exasperated, she replied that "Whatever plan is adopted by suffragists is bound to be the wrong thing in the eyes of critics." By early 1917, Youmans feared that war would prevent suffrage organizations from "go[ing] on effectively with their regular work."[47]

For the cause of woman suffrage, Youmans abandoned her once impassioned pacifism after attending an emergency meeting of the NAWSA executive council, where it adopted Catt's wartime plan. The WWSA was the first women's group in the state to offer its services for the war, and Youmans was the WWSA representative on the Wisconsin Council for Defense. Her column combined suffrage news with Red Cross appeals, concerns of women working in war industries, even instructions for knitting soldiers' socks.[48]

NAWSA's wartime stance sealed the split in WWSA leadership. The National Woman's Party--new name of the Congressional Union--offered antiwar suffragists an alternative. Zona Gale quit

WWSA in June, 1917. Her successor as first vice-president, Meta Berger, resigned her office in October to work in the Woman's Party. Even Olympia Brown wavered, but remained in the WWSA. Finally, Ada James was adamantly antiwar and was on the Woman's Party national advisory council. Youmans' sensitivity to their differences surfaced in November. An open conflict with James and Berger escalated from confusion over which group would represent suffragists in a speech to state teachers. James quit the WWSA. Youmans admitted it was a misunderstanding, but James, Gale and Berger did not resume their major roles in the movement.[49]

Catt's wartime strategy worked in winning public opinion, the President, and thus Congress, despite the internal dissension it caused. In 1918, House approval of full woman suffrage brought a spontaneous hymn-sing by women in the galleries. WWSA first vice-president Jessie Jack Hooper was there as a NAWSA lobbyist. She and Youmans led lobbying in Madison in March, 1919, when legislators capitulated at last to presidential suffrage. Wisconsin women welcomed token suffrage with restraint, since full federal enfranchisement was past its first hurdle. The congressional term expired without Senate approval.[50]

Wisconsin was one of the last "suffrage states." Suffragists had amassed 314 of 531 electoral votes and had the power to pressure Congress, as Catt had predicted. In May, 1919, Youmans sat in the House galleries after last-minute lobbying and watched as representatives again sent a woman suffrage bill to the Senate. This time, she wrote, there was "no excitement, no jubilee" because the "fight had been so long." She returned to

Wisconsin to be ready for ratification. On June 4, 1919, the Senate passed the Nineteenth Amendment.[51]

One historian singles out Wisconsin suffragists, and Youmans, for following NAWSA directives to remain organized for ratification. Their lobbying, membership work and fundraising drives, she says, "amply justified their pains." On June 10, 1919, Wisconsin legislators rushed for the honor of being first to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment. Illinois and Michigan also ratified that day. Ada James' father, retired from the legislature where he had proposed the 1912 referendum bill, raced Wisconsin's ratification to Washington first. More than a year later, on August 26, 1920, NAWSA secured the last state.[52]

The woman suffrage movement was not over. Women's citizenship through the vote was only suffragists' first objective; their goal was good citizenship, with the influence of women voters well versed in reform. Catt founded the League of Women Voters in February, 1920, and was its first president. In Wisconsin at the same time, Youmans stepped down from presidency of the WWSA. It became the League's state chapter, with Hooper its first president and Youmans its first vice-president.[53]

Youmans was not unique in understanding the task faced by the woman suffrage movement, or in the talents she brought to it. "The success of a movement like ours," Youmans wrote, "depends first upon education, and second upon legislation effected by this educated public opinion." The movement's earliest leaders recognized the power of public opinion--"the force that rules the world," Youmans called it--and of the press. In 1837, Angelina

Grimke wrote of "making a break in the wall of public opinion which lies in the way of women's rights." In their 1848 Declaration of Sentiments at Seneca Falls, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony called on women to "enlist the . . . press on our behalf" to counter "no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule" they correctly anticipated.[54]

Women journalists influenced public opinion in an era when the press was unabashedly partisan. The first woman journalist Margaret Fuller, joined the New York Tribune in 1845 and "possessed more influence than any woman of her time," according to Stanton and Anthony. Journalist Jane Cunningham "Jennie June" Croly founded the women's club movement in 1868 in New York City when male colleagues balked at admitting women into a press banquet. The club movement attracted greater numbers than did suffrage, and made women's rights a respectable cause. An ex-journalist, Carrie Chapman Catt, finally led the woman suffrage movement to victory.[55]

As early as 1910 to 1920, Wisconsin woman suffragists relied on more than access to the partisan press, even from within, and employed a range of modern public relations activities which they altered as public opinion advanced. The PEL and WWSA emphasized press agentry and publicity to create awareness in 1911 and 1912. From 1913 through 1915, Youmans placed priority on fundraising and membership drives to enlist understanding, acceptance and support. These activities remained dominant from 1916 to 1920 under the direction of national policy. Throughout, Wisconsin women used opinion research, special events from

statewide conferences to participation in "national suffrage days," and lobbying--the latter not always according to national or state plan.

Suffragists met the final test of an effective public relations campaign, maintaining established support over the long term. Their successors continue all these activities today in the League of Women Voters, often depicted as a historical letdown after the most colorful decade in a century's struggle. Rather, the League's founding suggests suffragists' understanding that public opinion is not won by legislated victory alone. Its purpose embodies the underlying argument for woman suffrage: good citizenship, called public affairs or community relations in public relations terms. One historian calls the suffrage argument "expediency," distinct from the earlier claim of the "justice" of enfranchisement. Idealistic proponents of "expediency" claimed women deserved the vote due to their inherent moral character, evident in "municipal housekeeping"--civic reform--elevated to the national housekeeping of social reform movements.[56]

This analysis of a woman suffrage campaign suggessts, first, that further research in earlier social reform movements to construct a more complete history of public relations including the nonprofit sector. Suffragists inherited some of their practices and much of their popular support from the abolition and temperance campaigns. The abolitionists succeeded in 1863 and the temperance movement peaked in the 1870s and '80s. Woman suffragists conquered the most intransigent public opinion, conducting 909 separate campaigns before victory in 1920.[57]

Second, analysis of the woman suffrage movement supplies a missing heritage for women in public relations--more than a third of practitioners, and more than two-thirds of students aspiring to the field today. "The careless world will probably continue to think that woman suffrage just happened, that it was 'in the air;'" Theodora Winton Youmans wrote in 1921, "but we know that the changes in the opinions of society which made it possible are the result of ceaseless, unremitting toil." Women reformers learned the methods of public opinion campaigns in earlier reform movements long dominated by men. Woman suffragists were led by women. They succeeded before the first courses were taught, the first textbooks written, the new field proclaimed in the 1920s by "fathers" of modern public relations whose experience was in newspapering or press agentry and political propaganda.[58]

Women practitioners, working for salaries or social purpose, need to know that public relations has its mothers, too. Historical emphasis on the profession's origins in politics and business also denies a usable past to practitioners in the nonprofit sector still reliant on voluntary support. By neglecting the contribution of unpaid advocates who worked for what they believed in, it denies all practitioners an ethical past. They can discover their roots in the mass movements for social progress, as in journalism, business and politics, if only the "terms of inquiry" are redefined to include women reformers among the early practitioners of public relations.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For example, on political origins of public relations, see Allan Nevins, The Constitution Makers and the Public, 1785-1790 (New York: Foundation for Public Relations Research and Education, 1962), and Fred F. Endres, "Public Relations in the Jackson White House," Public Relations Review 2 (Fall 1976), 5-12; on business origins, see Alan R. Raucher, Public Relations and Business, 1900-1929 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), and Richard S. Tedlow, Keeping the Corporate Image: Public Relations and Business, 1900-1950 (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1979). On "voluntaristic public relations," see Marvin N. Olasky, "A Reappraisal of 19th-Century Public Relations," Public Relations Review 11 (Spring 1985), 3-12; on women and history, see Gerda Lerner, "The Necessity of History and the Role of the Professional Historian," Journal of American History 69 (June 1982), 12. For this and other definitions of public relations, see Scott M. Cutlip and Allen H. Center, Effective Public Relations, 5th ed. rev. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1982); for results of a Foundation for Public Relations Research and Education study synthesizing 472 definitions discovered, see Rex F. Harlow, "Building a Public Relations Definition," Public Relations Review 2 (Winter 1976), 34-42. Quotation in Karen Blair, The Clubwoman As Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914 (New York: Holmes

& Meier, 1980), 42, emphasis in the original.

[2]Theodora W. Youmans, "Wisconsin," ch. 48 in Ida Husted Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, v. 6 (New York: J. J. Little, 1922), 703, 708.

To simplify reference to her more than 400 columns and other articles on woman suffrage, Theodora Winton Youmans is hereafter identified as TWY and the Waukesha Freeman as Freeman. Her column regularly ran on page 2 of the paper; hereafter, the page is not noted. The column was called "Votes for Women" from November 16, 1911 to February 21, 1918; "Woman Suffrage and Women's War Work" from April 4 1918 to March 6, 1919; and "Good Citizenship for Women" from April 7, 1919 to October 28, 1920, when the Freeman became a daily paper under the next generation of family ownership; hereafter, the title is eliminated.

[3]TWY, Freeman, June 5, 1919; Paul L. Rempe "Government and Politics in Waukesha County: The Past 150 Years," in Ellen D. Langill and Jean Penn Loerke, eds., From Farmland to Freeways: A History of Waukesha County, Wisconsin (Waukesha: Waukesha County Historical Society, 1984), 110; Clifford G. Christians, "Fifty Years of Scholarship in Media Ethics," Journal of Communication 27 (Autumn 1977), 21; Harvey Saalberg, "The Canons of Journalism: A 50-Year Perspective," Journalism Quarterly 50 (Winter 1973), 731.

In age, heritage, education, marital status and other characteristics, Youmans was a typical suffrage leader; see the profile drawn from Edward and Janet James, eds., Notable American

Women (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1971) in Anne Firor Scott and Andrew McKay Scott, One Half the People: The Fight for Woman Suffrage (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982; reprint of Lippincott ed., 1975), 164-165.

Theodora Emily Winton was born in 1863 in a log cabin in Ashippun, Wisconsin and grew up in Prospect Hill, a village so small that it was reduced to a crossroads with rural free delivery. It is now part of New Berlin in Waukesha County. Her parents, apparently distantly related, were both natives of Butternut, Oswego County, New York. Her mother, Emily Winton, was a schoolteacher; her father, Theodore Sumner Winton, was Prospect Hill's general storekeeper and postmaster. The Winton homestead, store and post office are restored landmarks. "Dora" graduated in 1880 from the Carroll Academy in Waukesha. She free-lanced articles for the Freeman in the 1880s, joined its staff and in 1889 married its editor and publisher, Henry Mott Youmans, a widower with two sons. The "dean of Wisconsin newspaper editors," he joined his brother-in-law's paper, originally the state Republican Party's abolitionist organ, in 1872 and purchased it in 1874. See Pioneer Notebooks, Waukesha County Historical Society Research Center, Waukesha, Wis.; TWY, "In Memory of My Father," Freeman, December 26, 1912, p. 6; TWY, "An Old-Time Merchant's Account Book," paper presented to the Waukesha County Historical Society, reprinted in the Freeman, September 20, 1917, p. 7; TWY, "A Pioneer Church at Prospect," Wisconsin Magazine of History 9 (1925-26), 322; 1880 Carroll College Catalogue, Carroll College Archives, Waukesha, Wis.; Ellen D. Langill, Carroll College, The

First Century: 1846-1946 (Waukesha: Carroll College Press, 1980), 44, 111; "Theodora W. Youmans Dies Suddenly at Noon," Freeman, August 18, 1932, p. 1; Gilbert H. Koenig, Once Upon a Prairie: Reflections of Waukesha's Yesterdays (Waukesha: Waukesha Freeman, 1984) 88; Henry M. Youmans, "Fifty Years," Freeman, October 28, 1920, p. 1.

[4]"Youmans Dies," 1, 8; Marilyn Grant, "Wisconsin at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904," Wisconsin Magazine of History 65 (Summer 1982), 291; Harold Holand, "Twenty Two Against the Plague: The Founding of the Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association," Wisconsin Magazine of History 42 (Autumn 1958), 32; Lawrence L. Graves, "The Wisconsin Woman's Movement, 1846-1920," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, (University of Wisconsin, 1954) 118-122, 142; TWY, "How Wisconsin Women Won the Ballot," Wisconsin Magazine of History 3 (1921-22), 14, 16; Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), 186-187; see also Charles E. Neu, "Olympia Brown and the Woman's Suffrage Movement," Wisconsin Magazine of History 43 (Summer 1960), 277.

Portions of "How Wisconsin Women Won the Ballot" were given in Youmans' address to the last WWSA convention, October 29-November 1, 1919 in Milwaukee, and were published in TWY, Freeman, October 30 and November 6, 1919.

[5]TWY, Freeman, January 18, February 8, April 4,

September 12, 1912; Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 132, 144; quotation in TWY, "Wisconsin Women," 21.

[6]TWY, Freeman, June 27, 1912; Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1959), 263-264; Sharon Hartman Strom, "Leadership and Tactics in the American Woman Suffrage Movement: A New Perspective from Massachusetts," Journal of American History 62 (September 1975), 381-382; Koenig, Once Upon a Prairie, 60; quotation in TWY, "Wisconsin Women," 21.

[7]TWY, Freeman, September 5, 26, 1912; Kenneth W. Duckett, "Suffragettes on the Stump: Letter from the Political Equality League of Wisconsin, 1912," Wisconsin Magazine of History 38 (Autumn 1954), 32; TWY, "Wisconsin Women," 21; TWY, Freeman, March 21, August 15, 1912.

[8]Cutlip and Center, Effective PR, 8-12; see also Doug Newsom and Allan Scott, This Is PR: The Realities of Public Relations (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1976), 5-10.

[9]TWY, Freeman, May 23, October 3, 17, 24, 31, 1912; Blair, Clubwoman, 1. School suffrage for Wisconsin women was enacted in 1885 but invalidated by the state supreme court on a technicality not corrected by legislative amendment until 1901; see TWY, "Wisconsin Women," 16-17. For a description of the

school-suffrage campaign by the woman who wrote the bill, a WWSA member with no legal training and no legal assistance, apparently the reason for its technical flaw, see TWY, Freeman, May 8, 1919.

[10]TWY, Freeman, March 14, 21, May 9, 23, July 11, 18, 25, August 8, 22, 1912; TWY, "Wisconsin Women," 16-17; "Youmans Dies," Freeman, 8. Kansas suffragists conducted a similar survey of editors; see TWY, Freeman, July 4, 1912. For later opinion research by the WWSA, see TWY, Freeman, June 4, 1914.

[11]Theron W. Haight, "Letter to the Editor," Freeman, May 2, 1912, p. 2; TWY, Freeman, September 4, 1913, December 3, 1914.

[12]TWY, Freeman, January 25, August 15, 1912; Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 146, 195; quotation in TWY, "Wisconsin Women," 21.

Youmans' report is preferred here to that of James, who wrote in June 1912 that releases were sent to 800 Wisconsin newspapers for the previous six months; see Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 173. Graves cites several examples from the PEL Press Bulletin, in his possession but not available elsewhere, which duplicate word-for-word several of Youmans' Freeman columns. The practice of "piggybacking," or getting double duty out of news releases, is common in "one-person public relations shops."

[13]TWY, Freeman, May 2, 9, 16, July 11, October 10, 1912.

[14]Flexner, Century, 270-272; TWY, Freeman, January 4, April 11, May 23, June 20, August 15, 1912; Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 210. For a description of lobbying in 1911 for the referendum bill, see Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 112-115; for later lobbying, see TWY, Freeman, May 8, 1919.

[15]Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 157-162; TWY, Freeman, February 22, March 7, April 11, May 9, July 18, August 22, 1912.

[16]Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 149, 157-162; TWY, Freeman, May 2, July 18, 1912.

[17]Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 144-146; TWY, Freeman, March 28, May 23, 1912.

[18]TWY, Freeman, July 4, 1912.

[19]Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 211-212, 215-217; TWY, Freeman, August 29, November 7, 1912.

Youmans' transitional status between journalism and public relations is evident in her ambiguous attitudes about suffragists' advertising and press agentry. A common journalistic complaint about "free publicity" was evident in her praise for Dane County suffragists' early advertising campaign. "Newspaper editors," she wrote, "who are so often asked to print material of various kinds for the 'good of the cause' find a refreshing exception to the

rule of dead head contributions;" see TWY, Freeman, February 29, 1912. Later, she complained that the National Woman's Party, picketing the White House, "lives on publicity. It is press agented as no organization in this country ever was press agented;" see TWY, Freeman, July 5, 1919. In this analysis, however, Youmans' actions are adjudged as louder than her words.

[20]Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 206-207; TWY, Freeman, March 29, September 20, November 14, 1912; TWY, "Wisconsin Women," 25; Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage, 187-188.

[21]Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 179-181, 200-204.

[22]TWY, Freeman, June 20, October 31, November 14, 1912.

[23]Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 137, 229; quotation in Youmans to James, January 11, 1913, Box 18, Ada James Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin Archives, Madison, Wis.

[24]Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 216-217; first quotation in Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 222; second quotation in TWY, Freeman, November 7, 1912.

[25]Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 137, 213, 224-225, 229-230; Marilyn Grant, "The 1912 Suffrage Referendum: An Exercise in Political Action," Wisconsin Magazine of History 64 (Winter

1980-81), 116; James to Youmans, September 21, 1911, Box 6, and Youmans to James, January 11, 1913, Box 18, James Papers. The venerable Olympia Brown, whose work spanned the woman movement from the post-Civil War era to the Nineteenth Amendment, lived to vote under full suffrage; see Neu, "Olympia Brown," 278.

[26]TWY, "Wisconsin Women," 24. Her "job description" resembles that in James E. Grunig and Todd Hunt, Managing Public Relations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 13:

"On a given day, public relations practitioners may prepare press releases, help a reporter develop a story, edit an employee publication, prepare an exhibit, interview a government official, conduct a scientific survey of public opinion, counsel management on the public relations impact of a major policy decision, write a speech, raise funds, or prepare an annual report."

[27]Flexner, Century, 266; TWY, Freeman, November 21, 1912; quotation in TWY, Freeman, August 21, 1913.

[28]Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 230 234; TWY, Freeman, January 25, 1912, June 5, 1913.

[29]Quotation in TWY, Freeman, July 31, 1913; emphasis hers.

[30]TWY, Freeman, August 21, October 16, 1913.

[31]TWY, Freeman, November 20, 1913; quotation in TWY, Freeman, November 27, 1913.

Waukesha suffragists' later techniques included a "telephone drive" which raised $100, possibly one of the earliest phonathons; see TWY, Freeman, December 7, 1916. The idea may have been adapted from New York suffragists' "telephone drive" to reach voters; see TWY, Freeman, October 12, 1915.

[32]Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 242; quotation in TWY, "Wisconsin Women," 24.

[33]Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 246-247; TWY, Freeman, November 6, 20, 1913.

The 1913 mailing list was about 1400. In 1916 the magazine was reduced to a quarterly, and the WWSA office was moved to Milwaukee where it shared space with the county association there; in 1917, the magazine was dropped, all for cost-cutting reasons which may have been the result of increased support of NAWSA, more than $1500 in 1918; see Graves "Wisconsin Movement," 241, 272, 283, and TWY, Freeman, October 5, 1916.

[34]TWY, Freeman, July 2, 1914; quotation in TWY, Freeman, May 21, 1914.

[35]Quotation in TWY, Freeman, October 8, 1914; passim.

[36]TWY, Freeman, November 19, 1914.

[37]TWY, Freeman, December 11, 18, 1913, November 5, 1914; Flexner, Century, 276-277; Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 253.

[38]Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 261-263, 267-268; TWY, Freeman, September 17, 1914, January 14, July 1, 1915.

[39]TWY, Freeman, February 25, March 25, April 8, May 20, July 8, 1915, November 16, 30, 1916; Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 254-255; see also Lawrence L. Graves, "Two Noteworthy Wisconsin Women: Mrs. Ben Hooper and Ada James," Wisconsin Magazine of History 41 (Spring 1958), 174-180.

[40]Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 268.

[41]TWY, Freeman, June 17, 1915; quotation in same.

[42]Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 256-257; TWY, Freeman, December 11 and 18, 1913, November 5, 1914, December 2, 1915; Flexner, Century, 244-246, 281-282.

[43]Flexner, Century, 290-292.

[44]Flexner, Century, 283; quotation in TWY, Freeman, September 28, 1916.

[45]Flexner, Century, 292; TWY, Freeman, February 17, 1916; Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 277-278.

[46]Flexner, Century, 294; quotation in TWY, Freeman, May 3, 1917.

[47]TWY, Freeman, December 10, 1914, July 13, 1916; Flexner, Century, 294; Robert W. Wells, The Milwaukee Journal: An Informal Chronicle of Its First 100 Years (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Journal, 1982), 128; quotation in TWY, Freeman, February 1, 1917.

For Lucius Nieman, founder of the Journal, the pro-war crusade was the "climax of his career," according to Wells. "Lute" Nieman began his career at age 13 as an apprentice at the Waukesha Freeman under Youmans' husband, possibly one reason for the publishers' rivalry; see Wells, Journal, 1-3, and Henry M. Youmans, "Fifty Years," 1.

[48]Flexner, Century, 294; TWY, Freeman, February 8, 1917, and passim; Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 280.

[49]Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 285-290, 304-306.

[50]Scott and Scott, One Half the People, 168; Flexner,

Century, 302-303.

[51]TWY, Freeman, June 5, 1919; Flexner, Century, 327-328. See also Youmans' letter quoted in Flexner, Century, 329.

[52]Flexner, Century, 328, 337; TWY, Freeman, June 5, 12, 19, 26, September 11, October 9, November 6, 1919.

[53]TWY, Freeman, January 8, 29, February 12, March 5, 1920.

Youmans remained active in the League of Women Voters and ran for the state senate in 1924; she lost. She also remained prominent in the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs, was chairman of its civics committee and president for the third time of the Waukesha Women's Club--and still writing--at her death in 1932. Her major legacy was to the WFWC for its most prestigious award, still annually given in her name, to the woman who contributes the most to her community through clubs or career. See "Youmans Dies," Freeman, 1, 8; also, Miriam Youmans Wellford, unpublished speech at inauguration of Theodora Youmans League, Waukesha, Wis., November 18, 1982, in the author's possession.

[54]Scott and Scott, One Half the People, 8; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Gage, History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester, N.Y.: Susan B. Anthony, 1881), v. 1, 71; quotation in TWY, "Wisconsin Women," 31.

[55]Flexner, Century, 67-68, 82, 183; Blair, Clubwoman, 40-41.

Flexner suggests that journalism was one of the first professions open to women--compared to medicine, law and ministry--due not to far-sighted and altruistic editors but because "writing and editing involved a training and discipline that was largely individual and self-acquired. Far more difficult was the achieving of professional training and licensing by the state, which involved a social sanction of non-domestic pursuits;" see Flexner, Century, 116.

[57]Cutlip and Center, Effective PR, 15-16; Aileen S. Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920 (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981; reprint of Columbia University Press ed., 1965), 44-45.

Youmans reported an example from the 1912 Progressive Republican party convention, where reformer Jane Addams nominated Theodore Roosevelt for the presidency. The keynoter, Senator Albert J. Beveridge, said that "Votes for women are theirs as a matter of natural right alone; votes for women should be theirs as a matter of political wisdom also." Enfranchised women, he said would "solve all the problems that concern the home. And that means all national problems;" see TWY, Freeman, August 15, 1912.

[57]Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage, 107; Flexner, Century, 41, 84, 155.

As Youmans wrote, "abolition of slavery, women's rights,

and the temperance cause were inextricably intertwined, and the advocate of one was apt to be the advocate of all;" see TWY, "Wisconsin Women," 4.

[58]Kathryn T. Theus, "Gender Shifts in Journalism and Public Relations," Public Relations Review 11 (Spring 1985), 43; Cutlip and Center, Effective PR, 86; quotation in TWY, "Wisconsin Women," 31.